

# A CASE FOR WOMEN WARFIGHTERS

J. Michael Brower

*I have absolutely no problem with women in combat units. [T]he idea that women can't make good soldiers is a mindset, not an incontrovertible fact.*

—Sergeant Major of the Army William G. Bainbridge<sup>1</sup>

WHEN THE UNITED STATES read about one of its destroyers laid low in the Gulf of Aden, it also read about females being killed and wounded in the line of duty alongside their male comrades. The cowardly, terrorist act executed against the USS *Cole* on 12 October 2000 underscored what many defense analysts had been saying during most of the 1990s—that post-Cold War confrontations would increasingly be devoid of conventional front lines.<sup>2</sup> Dress rehearsal for that reality began for Western militaries during the brush wars in Asia after World War II. One of the consequences of the USS *Cole* disaster and the sea change in warfare during the past 50 years is both relying on (and the increased vulnerability of) females at arms. How ironic it is for the U.S. military, which is increasingly dependent on servicewomen who have a high level of sacrifice in their blood, to announce on the Office of Personnel Management's (OPM's) website at <www.usajobs.opm.gov> that many jobs are closed to women. A nation that excludes half its potential human resources by fiat sows the seeds of its own military disintegration as the art of war becomes a technocentric, rather than a bayonetcentric endeavor.

According to Lory Manning, director of the Women in the Military Project at the Women's Research and Education Institute, there are approximately 195,000 women in the Armed Forces.<sup>3</sup> Despite admitting that the U.S. military is dependent on its females, restrictions on servicewomen make them second-class citizens. Lieutenant Colonel Martha McSally, the first woman fighter pilot in the U.S. Air Force, demanded that the rule requiring female sol-

diers stationed in Saudi Arabia to wear long cloaks and head coverings be rescinded. Her 7-year battle against the policy culminated in a lawsuit filed against Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld.<sup>4</sup> McSally finished her career by saving other women from the abaya and the restrictions placed on females in Saudi Arabia. She also made a down payment with her career for all oppressed women in that country and throughout the Muslim world.<sup>5</sup>

Whatever conservatives planning for the last war may think, women have become indispensable to the

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victorious militaries of the future. The U.S. and British defense establishments' recent attempts to turn back the clock by re-restricting women from the most meaningful roles in modern warfighting have demonstrated the propensity to step on the same rake, to avoid the lessons of 11 September 2001 that point to an increasing role for females in tomorrow's battlespace. Seizing the opportunity the chaos of the terrorist attacks on America provided, those interested in undoing what servicewomen have gained during the 1990s are squandering the opportunity to evolve militaries into antiterrorist bulwarks.

Inadequately equipped to formulate a proper appreciation of females' historical roles in armed conflict, well-funded and well-heeled representatives of the U.S. national defense establishment risk failing on future battlefields by continuing to irrationally restrict servicewomen.<sup>6</sup> Advancing societies endorse

harnessing the talents of 50 percent of their brainpower socially, politically, and when practicing the art of war. Societies in decline restrict, manacle, and shunt talent when criteria are gender-based. In the inevitable, general rise of the female as a global historical paradigm, there are ebbs and flows. Conservatives in key positions within Western militaries have instituted one of these ebbs by raging against women at arms without thinking of the changed nature of warfare—particularly terrorist warfare—thus putting Western societies' survival at risk.<sup>7</sup>

The progressively evolving society, when engaged in armed struggle, emerges victorious when its operational decisions are unfettered by political agendas and, in modern warfare, when women are relied on along with men. Today, in Italy, recruiting shortages and the changing nature of warfare have encouraged women to enter its armed forces. In 2000, more than 150 females became military academy cadets or directly appointed officers, and 288 “were recruited as short-service volunteers.”<sup>8</sup> One may see that in every respected, formidable, and lethal military, women are becoming greater operational factors. On the technology-rich battlefield of tomorrow, a female is equal to or better than any male. This paradigm began with the equalizing effects of gunpowder and steadily matured as brainpower eclipses brawn on an increasingly complex battlefield. Today, the art of warfare, particularly in digitized battlespace on land, sea, or in air and space, can no longer be successfully practiced without the integration of females.

### **Restrictions on Servicewomen in the 21st Century**

Even as the information revolution grows long in the tooth and the threat of weapons of mass destruction obviates many of the old precepts of conventional war, morale and meaningful military justice continue to be fundamental to sound military strategy. The equitable administration of military justice, the impartiality of a merit-based promotion system, and the compassion shown its members are among the markers of efficiency and effectiveness in the U.S. Armed Forces. When leaders decide to initiate armed hostilities, troop morale becomes the most important operational factor, and that morale is based on the evenhandedness and equity of military institutions. Preventing women from performing jobs for which they are capable undermines that evenhandedness.

The degrading and operationally detrimental policy of excluding servicewomen from combat and related roles in the U.S. Army “does not provide complete protection from death or capture: thirteen American women were among the 375 U.S. ser-

vice members who died [during the Persian Gulf war], and two women were prisoners of war,” reminds Ruth H. Howes and Michael R. Stevenson in *Women and the Use of Military Force*.<sup>9</sup> Of course, only a fool desires combat and advocates it to advance a career. No one who understands war wants it. To be in a position to risk war is a prerequisite to command the most meaningful operational elements, and that opportunity is consciously denied to females in the U.S. Armed Forces.

Since combat finds women in today's frontlineless combat environment, the only useful purpose these restrictions serve is to deprive females of rising to the most operationally meaningful positions. As Homer Lea, one of America's greatest but least known military talents, put it in 1912, “The duration of national existence depends on a nation's physical power to remain or become supreme over other political entities whose interests are convergent.”<sup>10</sup> No longer is it possible for the United States to remain a formidable national power (particularly when weapons of mass destruction are accessible to growing numbers of the world's have-nots and sanity-nots) without integrating women into foremost military roles. U.S. troops in the Philippines, for instance, assisting in the war against Muslim extremists there, have women carrying weapons and playing important roles.<sup>11</sup>

### **IT Changes Everything**

Just as the natures of warfare and the warfighter have evolved through advances in techniques, so too women have found new avenues of leadership in today's military through technology, in general, and through information technology (IT), in particular. The “digital gender gap” is always closing, particularly in the United States where the market research firm The Angus Reid Group estimates that more than half of all Internet surfers are female.<sup>12</sup> The global, but U.S.-led, IT paradigm shift has underwritten the so-called revolution in military and business affairs, and it invests heavily in women's unfettered contributions. Their support, particularly in IT, is vital; not to fulfill liberal politicians' agendas but to secure victory in future armed struggles. For warfighters, this is the acid test. Can females make real contributions in future battles—battles that necessarily leverage advanced technological warfighting over traditional forms of combat? The answer unequivocally is yes as IT is integrated thoroughly into every military system and into every tactical and strategic plan.

The reason for increasing reliance on women is simple. The best ideas and the best warriors are necessary to win future technology-based battles. The need is operational—nothing more, nothing less. It

82d Airborne Division soldiers prepare for deployment in support of Joint Task Force 180, Pope Air Force Base, 18 September 1994.

US Army



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is certainly not an exercise in social engineering or political correctness. The pool of talented females must be tapped to marshal victory on the technology-dependent battlefields of the nascent century.

### **Rehearsing for the Private Sector**

The U.S. military can help the Nation recruit its most important IT labor pool, females, by stressing the following:<sup>13</sup>

- Train women in technology, particularly math and science-oriented technical training, and avoid the need to contract out for complex skills.
- Realign work schedules to be more compatible with family needs, as the private sector is doing.
- Adopt a continuous retraining regimen as military needs change because of battlefield digitization and IT.
- Maintain and expand the policy of gender-integrated training which, when properly monitored and implemented, improves unit cohesion and teaches that genderless combat readiness is a first priority.
- Provide military programs to attract women into hard-to-fill IT and technical positions.
- Continue to make college-level studies such as

the GI Bill a priority both while serving in and after departing the military.

□ End arbitrary restrictions on women, as the Israeli military has done, by opening all positions to women based on their individual willingness and ability to perform.<sup>14</sup>

None of today's military leaders should retain the impression that women are somehow estranged from IT. Females have made important historical strides in computer development. For example, Ada Lovelace, writing about Charles Babbage's analytical engine in 1843, wrote the first computer program. In her honor, the Department of Defense (DOD) named its software programming language Ada. That language remains a giant in the defense industry's automated information system community and is the second most commonly used language after Cobol. During World War II, women often operated the code-breaking Enigma machine that was used to crack the German's encoded messages to sea commanders intercepting cargo bound for besieged Britain. Also during the war, although men get most of the credit, six women programmed the Electronic Numerical Integrator and Computer, the

world's first computer built in 1945. Find out more about them at the Women in Technology International Foundation website at <www.witi.org>.

Today, women like the Air Force's highest-ranking female, Lieutenant General Leslie F. Kenne, commander, Electronic Systems Center, U.S. Air

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Force Materiel Command, Hanscom Air Force Base, Massachusetts, promote the integration of females into the military and into IT jobs as keys to winning wars.<sup>15</sup> In the case of Navy Captain Margaret Klee, chief information officer, Los Angeles Unified School District, servicewomen in IT can contribute to their communities using their military-supplied skills.<sup>16</sup> In Vermont, IT training for the military has taken a front seat under Major General Martha T. Rainville, the adjutant general overseeing Air and Army National Guard units there. Rainville, a 22-year veteran, is the first female adjutant general in the 364-year history of the Guard. Under her leadership, the Information Operations Training and Development Center at Norwich University teaches students to guard networks from increasingly sophisticated hackers, trains computer emergency response teams, and offers a tactical course that synthesizes and synchronizes data operations to underwrite digitized battlefield operations. Leveraging IT talent across all services is the key to military success in future conflicts.<sup>17</sup> The Vermont Guard's emphasis on this area pre-positions the citizen soldier to contribute actively to that success.

Women are making inroads not only into the civilian IT workforce but also into technology-harnessing areas of the military. As DOD is reformed to look and function more like the private sector, this trend will be accentuated. Early in 1999, the U.S. Census Bureau indicated in its *Statistical Abstract of the United States* that IT is the work sector in which women are building their future. There are already 5.6 million more women in IT-related occupations than men, with more of them on the upper end of the pay scale than the lower end. With the IT and information-related job sectors now making

up 55 percent of the U.S. employment picture and information manipulators bringing home 64 percent of the available bacon, women are uniquely pre-positioned to make remarkable social and economic advancements.<sup>18</sup> In addition, according to the Census Bureau, more women are attending college than are men: 70 percent of female and 64 percent of male 1997 high school graduates. Also, according to the Internet Advertising Bureau, almost half of the online population was female in 2000. The U.S. military ignores these trends to its detriment. In a military that must master IT to be fully effective, women skilled in IT must move closer to center stage.

IT offers women their latest, best hope to extinguish sexism in the workplace. Sexism is rooted in the practice of underpaying females for their "gender crime." According to the Bureau of Labor Statistics, female programmers earned \$.81 for every dollar male programmers brought home in 1998, and female operations systems analysts made about the same (\$.80). According to OPM, women in IT nationwide are still making around \$5,000 a year less in IT than their male counterparts. Giant IT industries are ruthlessly petitioning Congress to raise the quota of foreign technical workers permitted to work in the United States, but the tight labor gap could be filled with U.S. women. Fair pay and training for women would obviate most of the artificial need to import computer labor.

## **A Distant but Distinct Mirror**

Joan of Arc was burned at the stake in Rouen, France, in May 1431 under the general sobriquet of witchcraft. What can the distant mirror of that 19 year old's execution reveal about the inquisition-like attack on the interests of servicewomen in the U.S. military?<sup>19</sup> Having pledged under duress to take the dress of a woman, Joan of Arc was found during her captivity to have blasphemously resumed the dress of a man just as she had during her brief but glorious generalship and while on trial. For that, she was condemned as a relapsed heretic. For opponents of women at arms, the sight of a woman in warrior's garb is an impiety, a profane caricature that augers the brave new world of military feminization, reduced morale, and declining battle readiness.

While so much has happened in the years since Joan of Arc's execution to recognize women's military contributions, in many ways, nothing has changed during those more than 570 years to influence closed military minds mired in past misperceptions, anecdotes, and myths about women in the military. It is a mind-set that has been defeated by facts in mountains of books, articles, and daily experiences in the field but preserved by men and women alike, in and out of the U.S. Armed Forces.

Today's servicewomen who are qualified to be in the infantry, on submarines, or in the skies are condemned as Joan was, for daring to assume the place and the station of men.

Recognizing servicewomen's contributions, the Pentagon's Defense Advisory Committee on Women in the Services (DACOWITS) urged, in 1999, that females be allowed to serve on submarines recommending "assignment of the most highly qualified personnel regardless of gender."<sup>20</sup> Since February 2002, however, DACOWITS has been emasculated as a force for recognizing the evolving role of servicewomen. Conservatives have attacked the group, causing the rewriting of its charter and causing it to lean away from studying a woman's role in war.<sup>21</sup> Fortunately, the efforts of some in Congress, such as Representative Heather Wilson from New Mexico, herself an Air Force Academy graduate, former vice chair of the advisory group, and the only female veteran in Congress, helped to stave off the total eclipse of DACOWITS.<sup>22</sup> Despite DACOWITS' 50 years of existence and successful track record, Deputy Secretary of Defense Paul Wolfowitz and Undersecretary of Defense for Personnel and Readiness David Chu insisted that women's roles in the U.S. Armed Forces be curtailed.

While Afghan women are seeing an unveiling thanks to U.S. intervention and virtual nationbuilding, U.S. women who contributed to that unveiling are seeing their own opportunities limited. This is a profound and sad irony. More regrettable, however, is the operational degradation that is the necessary result of withdrawing women from jobs they can perform. As of June 2002, for example, female soldiers in reconnaissance organizations have been de-authorized to be assigned to reconnaissance, surveillance, and target acquisitions squadrons at Fort Lewis, Washington.<sup>23</sup>

The British have followed suit in recent months, using the same dubious logic and deference to conservative elements who have been opportunistically waiting since 11 September 2001 to roll back servicewomen's gains.<sup>24</sup> Yet women pilots are flying the British into anti-al-Qaeda combat missions, exposing themselves to combat.<sup>25</sup> The double standard in both the U.S. and British militaries is obvious. We need women to risk combat, but we will not give them credit for doing so lest they qualify for the most important leadership positions. That is just how it is. Palestinian women have no problem strapping on a belt of explosives in Israel nor have they been other than active in every sense during warfighting. And female Israeli soldiers have no problem shooting them before they fulfill their deadly missions.<sup>26</sup> Double standards are dealt a

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blow on the day-to-day battlefields that have no frontline combat.

With the end of frontlines, largely defeated by technology, militaries must abandon sexism in all forms if they want to achieve victory in the new millennium. And yet, instead of harnessing and riding the wave, many leaders in and around the military oppose the change that technology has demanded. To many traditionalist warfighters, the most unpalatable and operationally risky changes concern the female at arms. They deny, or are blind to the fact, that technology has redefined and is redesigning the rules of battlespace and that it is paving the way for women to assume leading roles. The fact remains that tomorrow's victories in technology-rich conflicts will be won with women in the vanguard, or they may not be won at all. At day's end, the restrictions imposed on females are not founded on legitimate operational issues; they are grounded in extant power relations.

The U.S. policy of Talibanizing women at arms has expanded as conservatives resign themselves to the fact that a minority presidency should not hamper their work of undoing uniformed women's progress, no matter the detrimental effect on national security. There is no operational requirement that females be built like popular World Wrestling Federation star Chyna to contribute meaningfully on the battlefield. Women are contributing increasingly in combat roles despite restrictions.<sup>27</sup> Women's interest in an equalized playing field is labeled the "feminization" of the U.S. military. The charge is a tattered paper tiger.<sup>28</sup>

### Postmodern Warfare and Servicewomen

Students of military affairs must come to terms with servicewomen's global, historical ascension. Like it or not—and many veterans do not even in peacetime—women are becoming more militarized and integral to the success of the world's technology-dependent armed forces. For example, Clark University Professor Cynthia Enloe explores the

causes and ramifications of militarizing what was once patronizingly known as the "fairer sex" in an exhaustive study covering the most controversial aspects of expanded roles for women on the doorstep of 21st-century warfighting. Enloe explains that the world's servicewomen being increasingly integrated into the combat arms (a picture and discussion of Bosnian female soldiers charging positions during training with submachine guns is particularly striking) exposes the fallacy, sterility, and fervid impracticality of the U.S. Army's restrictions on women. Enloe points out that "many women have been maneuvered to play a military supportive role," limiting their horizons artificially.<sup>29</sup>

Women have consistently proven to be assets to the military, hence their unprecedented acceptance and active recruitment today into so many of the world's armed forces. It is time to allow qualified women to serve in all capacities for which they have both the aptitude and the interest. Gender not only

should not be a moral issue, it also cannot be in the technology-dependent battlespace of tomorrow. It is a question of operational effectiveness under the rubric of advanced and advancing technology, and the U.S. military cannot win future battles—above or below the oceans—without servicewomen. The economics of foreign military sales and the horizontal distribution of militarily usable technology demand an infusion of the best U.S. minds to counterbalance the consequences of financial greed over national security. Increasingly, those minds, housed in female bodies, are demanding the end of arbitrary restrictions. America's military must chart a course between Scylla and Charybdis, between the detractors of servicewomen and operational failure, and permit those women who can to perform all military assignments. Gender neutrality is the tidal wave of the future. To be victorious in future wars, we must welcome women aboard—today—as equal partners in preserving peace through readiness. **MR**

## NOTES

1. William G. Bainbridge and Dan Cragg, *Top Sergeant: The Life and Times of Sergeant Major of the Army William G. Bainbridge* (New York: Fawcett Books, July 1995). If art imitates life, mass appearances of female operational characters in fiction as well as in fact should signal to all observant spectators of world historical events the present death of restrictions on females in the U.S. Armed Forces. Books like W. A. Ballinger's *Women's Battalion* (publishing information unknown) about how the Soviets used women in ground and air combat during World War II, demonstrate a long tradition of putting women into harm's way when battlefield and aerospace victories hang in the balance and later dramatizing their contributions for entertainment purposes. Thirty Soviet women pilots have been declared to be Heroines of the Soviet Union.

2. That women can be killed and wounded in a combat environment was brought home in the USS *Cole* incident. See John F. Burns, "Sailors Keep Destroyer Afloat After a Bulkhead Collapses," *New York Times* (16 October 2000): A1.

3. Lory Manning and Vanessa R. Wight, *Women in the Military: Where They Stand*, 3d ed. (WREI, November 2000), 29, at <www.wrei.org/pubs/pub\_wim3.htm>.

4. Sheryl McCarthy, "Thanks to This Pilot, Military Dress Policy Melts," *Long Island Newsday* (28 January 2002), accessed via DTIC's Early Bird, 2 February 2002.

5. Seena Simon, "Fighter Pilot Risks Career to Save Others From Abaya," *Air Force Times* (17 December 2001): 20.

6. See Joshua S. Goldstein, *War and Gender: How Gender Shapes the War System and Vice Versa* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2001); Cynthia Enloe, *Maneuvers: The International Politics of Militarizing Women's Lives* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 2000); Jean Ebbert and Marie-Beth Hall, *Crossed Currents: Navy Women from WWI to Tailhook* (Washington, DC: Brassey's, Inc., 1994); Joanna Bourke, *An Intimate History of Killing: Face-to-Face Killing in Twentieth-Century Warfare* (New York: Basic Books, 1999); Linda Grant De Pauw, *Battle Cries and Lullabies: Women in War from Prehistory to the Present* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998); John P. Dever and Marcia C. Dever, *Women and the Military: Over 100 Notable Contributors, Historic to Contemporary* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 1995); Richard Hall, *Patriots in Disguise: Women of the Civil War* (New York: Paragon House, 1993); and Anne Noggle, *A Dance With Death: Soviet Airwomen in World War II* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 1994).

7. See articles like David Wood's "In the War on Terrorism, Women are on the Front Lines," *Newhouse News Service*, at <www.newhousenews.com>, accessed 3 April 2002.

8. "Italy Looks to Immigrants to Fill Recruitment Gap," *Jane's Defense Weekly* (8 August 2001), 10.

9. *Women and the Use of Military Force*, eds., Ruth H. Howes and Michael R. Stevenson (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1993), 90, citing M.J. Eitelberg's paper presented at the Biennial Conference of the Inter-University Seminar on Armed Forces and Society, Baltimore.

10. Homer Lea, *The Day of the Saxon* (NY: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1942), 17, originally published in 1912. General Homer Lea predicted losing the Philippines to the Japanese and predicted the Pearl Harbor disaster almost half a century before the events; hence, the rediscovery of his brilliant works at the beginning of World War II. See also, *The Valor of Ignorance* (published in 1909).

11. Joseph Giorondo, report in *Stars and Stripes*, 11 March 2002, accessed 13 March 2002 in the *Early Bird* via Defense Technical Information Center at <DTIC.mil>.

12. David Lake, "Digital Gender Gap Closes," *The Industrial Standard* (8 May 2000), 203.

13. J. Michael Brower, "Servicewomen Establish Technological Beachhead Against Sexism," *Army AL&T* (January-February 2001), 29-30.

14. According to the Women's Research & Education Institute (WREI), 91 percent of all Army occupations and 70 percent of its positions, 96 percent of all Navy occupations and 91 percent of its assignments, and 93 percent of all Marine Corps occupa-

tions and 62 percent of its positions are open to women. The Air Force still keeps female officers from combat control and restricts them in the Special Operations Forces (SOF), whether they are assignments with infantry, SOF, or combat liaison officer positions with infantry battalions. It closes combat control, tactical air command and control, and parachute rescue to its female enlistees and restricts them in flight engineer and gunner positions, weather, ground radio control, and radio communications collocated with direct ground combat units. As long as there is gender bias, restricting women from the most important military operational command positions, such as commanders in chief of combat commands and chiefs of staff, will continue.

15. Women, however unwittingly, have capitalized on major wars like World War II to make social and political advances that have attributed to their economic power as breadwinners. World War I was largely responsible for the worldwide suffrage movement because women began asserting themselves on a wider scale than had ever before been seen. See Carol Hymowitz and Michael Weissman, *A History of Women in America* (NY: Bantam Books, 1981), 28-31; 142-43. "As in the American Revolution, some women joined in the fighting. As estimated, 400 women, disguised as men, served for various lengths of time in the Union and Confederate armies," 142.

16. Jim McKay, "CIO Profile," *Government Technology* (April 2001): 16.

17. "Vermont is Ground Zero for Guard's IT Training," *Government Computer News* (4 June 2001), 40.

18. Social assertions by females demanding expanded roles in the military are underwritten not only by their abilities, proven countless times in the fire of combat, but also by their expanded global economic strength since World War I. See Arthur Marwick, *Total War and Social Change* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1992), particularly James McMillian's essay.

19. See J. Michael Brower, "The Enemy Below, the Brass Above," *Proceedings* (June 2000): 33. It is here and in the ultraright-wing *Washington Times* affiliate *Insight on the News* (3-10 April 2000): 40, that I outline my position on women in submarines. See <www.jmichaelbrower.com>. See also J. Michael Brower, *Clashing Views on Controversial Moral Issues*, ed., Stephen Satris, 8th ed. (Clemson, SC: Clemson University Press, August 2001), for my reply to Elaine Donnelly's antiservicewomen worldview.

20. *Ibid.*

21. The *Washington Times*, an organization that depends on the Church of Sung Young Moon for survival, has an antifemale agenda that colors all its "journalistic" coverage of these issues. See articles from the period and by Elaine Donnelly, president of the Center for Military Readiness, with her attacks against women.

22. Rick Maze, "Congress' Sole Woman Veteran Has Problems With DACOWITS Plan," <ArmyTimes.com>, 6 March 2002, accessed via DTIC's Early Bird, 8 March 2002.

23. Staff Sergeant Marcia Triggs, "Army Closes Transformation Recon Teams to Women," *Army LINK News* (Washington, DC: Office of Public Affairs, 7 June 2002), accessed via DTIC's Early Bird, 9 June 2002.

24. Michael Smith, "Army Decides to Keep Women Off the Front Line," *London Daily Telegraph* (20 May 2002) accessed via DTIC's Early Bird, 22 May 2002.

25. James Clark, "Women Fly British Troops Into Combat," *London Sunday Times* (28 April 2002) accessed via DTIC's Early Bird, 1 May 2002.

26. Ashley, M. Heher, "Women's Work: Warfare," *The Washington Times* (6 May 2002), 13.

27. See John Tierney's story on Chyna, "The Muscled Wrestler," *New York Times* (29 September 2000): A25.

28. Stephanie Gutmann's *The Kinder, Gentler Military: How Political Correctness Affects Our Ability to Win Wars* (NY: Charles Scribner's Sons, 2000) and the reactionary work of Brian Mitchell show just how much disregard can be paid to women's noble roles in warfighting throughout the ages.

29. Enloe, *Maneuvers*.

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